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# History of Zionism

by

S. LANDMAN.

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# History of Zionism.

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**Z**IONISM as a solution of the Jewish Problem, though the term is only some twenty years old,\* is in reality as old as the Jewish Problem, and has taken varying forms according to the manner in which the problem was viewed. Speaking generally, Zionism until 1897 meant the desire of the Jewish people to regain its old homeland and the possibility of renewed productive life in a normal and healthy environment. Since 1897 it has come to signify in addition a complex of well-defined institutions and a special organisation aiming at the practical carrying into effect of this desire. The founding of this organisation, the Zionist organisation, is the work of Dr. Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) the first and incomparably the greatest of Zionist leaders. The establishing of an organisation representative of the various Jewries in the world at a time when they were becoming more and more estranged from each other by reason of their increasing assimilation to their respective environments was a work of genius. Nevertheless, the ground had already been to some extent prepared for him by other influences and organisations. Int

It would take too long to give a complete history of the yearning for Zion and the attitude of the Jewish people towards Zion during the Diaspora. In brief, their attitude, after the early attempts to regain their land by armed force under Bar Cochba and others in the second and seventh centuries following the breakup of the Jewish State had proved futile, had changed first of all into an impatient expectation of a warrior leader who was certain to come to their help, then, under the influence of constant disappointment and the pressure of persecution, into a deep longing for and a firm belief in a Messiah who would deliver them by miraculous means. This yearning and this hope formed part of the religion and consequently of the life of every Jew until the dawn of modern times—the eighteenth century. The separateness of the Jews and their Jewish education preserved intact their love of Zion (*Chibbath Zion*) during the long centuries of their exile. Until emancipation broke down the walls of the ghetto in Western Europe and brought the breath of modern culture to the Jew, the history of the Zionist longing is simple and practically the same in all Int

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\* The word Zionism is said to have been first employed in 1894 by Birnbaum.



the Jewries of the world. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, we must consider separately Eastern and Western Jewry.

Emancipation came first in the West and found the Jews very ill prepared to receive it. Instead of assimilating the culture of the nations among whom they lived, they absorbed it and became absorbed by it. The Jewries of England, France, and Germany were not sufficiently strong either numerically or in Jewish feeling and knowledge of Judaism to resist the intoxication of the wonderful new sense of freedom which emancipation brought them. The consequences are sufficiently well known; the whittling down of Judaism from a national religion to a faith or 'persuasion' which may be fitted on to the citizens of any country, the 'reform' of Judaism by ridding it of most of the qualities which distinguish it and make it peculiarly Jewish (good examples are the abolition of "Zion" and most of the Hebrew prayers from the liturgy and the attempt to do away with the Jewish Sabbath), in a word, the constant if unconscious effort to make Jews and Judaism indistinguishable from non-Jews and Christianity. This process might have reached its logical conclusion—the disappearance of Western Jewry—but for two obstacles. On the one hand the non-Jews, partly on account of the growth of nationalism and its fungus Antisemitism in the nineteenth century, refused to take the Western Jews to their hearts and treat them as brothers and equals, on the other, a wave of Jewish nationalism gathered strength among the East European Jews—the Jewish and non-assimilated Jews—some of whom refused or were unable to imitate their Western brethren, and the best among whom concentrated their attention on the need of saving the spirit of Judaism by finding a home for its persecuted body. The stream of emigrants from East to West kept the West from losing entirely its contact with Jewish national feeling.

The Eastern Jews among whom this Movement of *Chibbath Zion* arose were principally the Jews in Russia and Austria, most of whom had preserved their Jewishness much more successfully than the Western Jews. Chiefly because they had retained the traditional Jewish Education they had been able to keep burning the torch of Jewish learning and Jewish hope when it was almost extinguished among other Jewries. The influence upon the best Eastern Jews of modern culture, instead of estranging them from their people, induced them on the contrary to bring the new learning and new ideas to their people. This is seen in the *Haskalah* (or new learning) movement. The leaders of this movement, Krochmal, the two Lebensohns, Zederbaum, Perez Smolenskin, M. A. Ginzburg, J. L. Gordon, Moses Leib Lilienblum, tried to introduce freedom of thought, and tolerance, and other great

qualities which they saw in modern culture, into the minds of Ghetto Jewry. For a short time the leaders of the *Haskalah* movement fell, like the Western Jews, into the error of thinking that emancipation of itself would save Jews and Judaism. The pogroms of the eighties, however, and the relentless persecution of the Jews by the Russian bureaucracy revealed to them in the clearest manner their naive error, and taught them that Russia could never be their spiritual home, though, unfortunately, it might have to be their material home for many years to come. They realised also that their spiritual home had never ceased to be Zion, and that the only way to regain Zion was to colonise it and make it a material home for at least some of their brethren. These ideas formed the platform first of the *Bilu*, a society of pioneer colonists founded in January, 1882, and later of the *Choveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion) established in 1884 (after a conference at Kattowitz) by Dr. Pinsker, Lilienblum, Rabbi Mohilewer, S. P. Rabinowicz, Jassinowsky, S. J. Finn, Lewanda, Wissotzki, and others. Some of the founders were also leaders of the *Haskalah* movement. Eg

The attitude of Western Jewry towards the *Choveve Zion* was on the whole unfavourable. The feeling of horror aroused by the pogroms had, it is true, predisposed the Western Jews to open their hearts to any movement which could help their persecuted brethren. The other object of the *Choveve Zion*, however,—to nurse the wounded soul of Judaism back to health—they could not appreciate. Thus the efforts of Western Jews to help their Eastern brethren emanated from purely philanthropic motives. This explains why the millions of money spent by Baron Hirsch, and later by the Jewish Colonisation Association, went to Brazil instead of to Palestine. Later, the rich Jews in their attitude to Zionism proper again showed the blindness of their philanthropy and their opposition to any scheme which went beyond almsgiving on a smaller or larger scale. The only exception was Baron Edmond de Rothschild who understood the value of Palestine and helped the Jewish Colonies with a liberal hand. It is well known that the early colonies in Palestine could not have survived without his help.

Palestine had never been forgotten by the Eastern Jews, but in time they had grown to look upon it as a deserted land which could scarcely be reclaimed by merely human efforts. The first to speak and write of the colonisation of Palestine as a practical solution of the Jewish Problem was Zebi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1874), rabbi of Thorn in Posen, whose work *Sefer Emunah Yesharah*, written in 1843, suggested that the Messianic idea did not necessarily involve the regaining of Palestine by a miracle, but that the efforts of the Jewish people were required to realise the idea. Similar ideas are to be found Jew  
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in the works of another rabbi, Elias Guttmacher of Gratz. A pamphlet by Kalischer, *Derishat Ziyyon*, (published in 1862) definitely suggested the founding of a society for the colonisation of Palestine. Charles Netter, inspired by Kalischer's ideas, induced the Alliance Israelite Universelle to establish in 1870 the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School near Jaffa. Small settlements of Jewish Colonists had been established about the same time at Petach Tikvah and near the sea of Tiberias, the latter by Kalischer himself. These settlements were not successful, owing to the lack of proper preparation for the task on the part of the colonists. The Palestinian solution was advocated among Western Jews by *Moses Hess* (1812-1875) one of the early leaders of the Social Democratic movement in Germany. His attention, like that of many other Western Jews, had been called to the existence of a Jewish problem by the Damascus affair of 1840 (the Jews were accused of having murdered a Capuchin friar for ritual purposes). The journey of Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolphe Crémieux and Salomon Munk to Mehemet Ali to obtain redress had stirred the feelings and attracted the attention of all the Jewries of the world. In 1860, a similar accusation was made against Jews, also at Damascus, and once again the eyes of Jewry were turned towards the East. The Alliance Israelite Universelle was established in 1860 to safeguard the Jewish name from such calumnies and to act as an international Jewish body for the protection of persecuted Jews.

Hess explained his views in his book, *Rome and Jerusalem, the latest National Question*. (1862.) His thesis is, first, that Jews will always remain strangers in every country in which they are permitted to live, secondly, that the Jewish type of life and outlook is indestructible, and lastly, that, if emancipation should prove irreconcilable with Jewish National feeling, the latter should be kept and the much prized emancipation sacrificed. The views of Hess fell upon deaf ears among Western Jewry for reasons already made clear. Emancipation still appeared to them a wonderful jewel for which they were prepared to barter their soul. They still dreamed that they would have a place in the "brotherhood of man." The nationalist view was put even more clearly and courageously by Dr. Leo Pinsker (1821-1891) of Odessa, in his well-known pamphlet *Auto-emanzipation*. The chief merit of this work is the clearly stated view that Jews must help themselves. Neither miracles from above, nor the kindness of Gentiles, nor the progress of internationalism would solve the Jewish problem. They could only become a living nation by beginning to live (*i.e.*, to act) as a nation and strive for the realisation of their national aspirations. The author sketches an outline of the kind of action required, and has forecasted in many particulars the work of the Zionist organisation. Pinsker's idea

bears the stamp of having been called forth by the pogroms and by Antisemitism in the emphasis which it lays on the material solution, namely, the finding of a home—anywhere—for the oppressed Jews. Pinsker's message was taken up in Russia, and in a more Jewish form was preached by Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginzberg, born 1856). The *Choveve Zion* movement spread from Russia into the other countries of Europe during the decade 1885-1895. The practical programme of the *Choveve Zion*, and later of the Odessa Committee, consisted in creating an office at Jaffa for the purchase and sale of land and to examine the legal ways and means by which the consent of the Turkish authorities could be obtained for the Jewish colonisation. At the suggestion of Ahad Ha'am, the most far-sighted and critical member of the Committee, important improvements were made in the administration of the colonies and the question of national education began to occupy the foremost position in their programme. By the year 1897 half-a-dozen colonies were being administered, agricultural dwellings had begun to be built, and libraries and schools subventioned. Thus the ground was prepared for the Zionist movement and the transition to a political organisation of the Jewish people.

In 1895, Dr. Theodor Herzl, a Western Jew, then living in Paris, sprung from an assimilated Viennese family, was led by his study of French Antisemitism, under the influence of the Nationalist ideas then current in Europe, to apply his mind to the Jewish problem as he conceived it. He was not acquainted with any of the works of a Zionist nature previously mentioned, but viewed the problem quite independently and arrived at the same or similar conclusions. Like Pinsker, Herzl in his *Judenstaat* starts from the position that the root cause of Antisemitism is the homelessness of the Jewish people, and that Antisemitism will never die unless and until the Jewish people regain a Jewish state—somewhere. Like Pinsker, again, but to an even greater degree, Herzl was estranged from general Jewish sentiment, so that he did not know the claim which Palestine had on the loyalty and affection of the Jewish people. His *Judenstaat*, published in 1896, is therefore in a sense rather the text book of Territorialism\* than of Zionism. The Jewish problem, as it appeared to the author of the *Judenstaat*, was quite simple. The Jews are a nation who have not been destroyed by many centuries of persecution; they have the will to live, and the only way in which they can live properly and free from Antisemitism is by establishing an autonomous Jewish State. Herzl suggests the formation of a new organisation, "the Society of Jews," to make all the necessary preparations and investigations. Then a

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\* The Territorialist movement established 1905 by Israel Zangwill seeks a territory for Jews anywhere (cf. p. 11 *infra*).



"Jewish Company" should be established with a capital of fifty million pounds to carry into execution the programme of the Society. It is noteworthy that England was to be the headquarters of the Company. The work of the Company is to prepare the land for the new immigrants and to transport them. The land may be Argentine or Palestine, but the colonists must not be smuggled into it; they must come openly and be protected by international law and public guarantees. The desire for a homeland and the stimulus of the Rabbis, so Herzl imagined, would suffice to ensure a stream of colonists. The form of government should be an aristocratic republic. As Jews cannot speak Hebrew, there would be not one language but many, as in Switzerland. There should be perfect religious and political tolerance. Aliens should enjoy exactly the same rights as native-born subjects.

These ideas found no echo in the circle of his assimilated Viennese friends in which they were first announced. Their first result was to cut Herzl off from all but a trusty few of his friends and acquaintances, and to estrange him from his previous environment. Israel Zangwill drew attention to Herzl's ideas in England and procured for him an invitation to address the Maccabeans in July, 1896. Herzl opened a discussion of the Jewish question by a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* in the same month. During his visit to England he sounded the wealthy Jews but found them resolutely opposed to his views. He had already interviewed Baron Hirsch in 1895 without success, and to the last the wealthy Jews stood aloof. They were not, however, the only Jews who opposed the Zionist solution. The opposition came from all quarters, some scarcely to be expected.

The assimilated Western Jews were thoroughly frightened by the wide publicity which Herzl gave to the idea that Jews were a separate nation. For years they had been preaching and crying from the housetops that they were Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans of the Jewish persuasion. In time, by dint of repetition, they had come to believe it, and they thought their Gentile neighbours would accept their view. And now all their work would be undone by this terrible Zionism. Then the Orthodox Jews found Zionism impossible because the leaders were not observant Jews. They, the orthodox Jews, could not give their support to a movement which would—so they thought—sanction unobservance.\* Lastly, most of the Jewish bourgeoisie was against Herzl's suggestions, partly because they considered the object unattainable and the scheme fantastic, but chiefly because they were comfortable and did not wish to be disturbed.

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\* Since then the observant Jews have formed a special section within the Zionist organisation under the name of the *Mizrachi*.



3 But soon there began to gather round Herzl a band of intellectuals who, like Herzl himself, felt keenly the shame of Antisemitism and had too much pride to deny their race and faith by pretending they were identical with the people among whom they lived. Chief among them, was Max Nordau, who was Herzl's faithful colleague from the commencement, and whose advocacy of the movement was of the greatest service in making it widely known in the early years. The supporters of Herzl were of two classes. One was the young nationalists of Russia, Austria, and Rumania, and to a lesser extent Germany, the other, those whose interest in Palestine had been aroused by the *Choveve Zion*. At first Herzl had no thought of placing himself at the head of an organisation. It was the *Kadimah*—a society of Jewish nationalist students in Vienna—which invited him to carry into execution the scheme he had outlined in the *Judenstaat*. This request was supported by students' societies in other parts of Austria. A similar request and appreciation of his ideas came from the *Choveve Zion* pioneers settled in Palestine. Their letter is signed among others by Yellin, Ben Jehuda, Jahvitz and Pines. From Russia, Galicia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, came letters of cordial sympathy and promises of support and adhesion. These Jews were ready, even eager, to answer his call. But he found that their enthusiasm was not for Argentine or any other territory, but for Zion, and he therefore turned his attention to Palestine.

From this point until his death in 1904, the history of Zionism is the history of Herzl's efforts. He devoted all his means and all his energies to the movement. After a visit to Constantinople, during which he succeeded in obtaining several interviews with the Sultan, he saw that he must be able to offer large sums of money for land purchase—and he tried again to persuade the wealthy Jews of the practicability of his scheme. In England, he tried Lord Rothschild and Sir Samuel Montagu without success, in France he offered Baron Edmond de Rothschild the leadership of the movement, but without avail. The great Jewish philanthropic organisations—the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, the *J.C.A.* (i.e., Jewish Colonisation Association) who were the executors of Baron Hirsch, the *Allianz* of Vienna also refused to help him. But by the spring of 1897 interest had grown so considerably that Herzl decided to call a Congress of Zionists from all parts of the world in August of that year. The Jews of Munich, in which city the Congress was originally intended to meet, protested violently, and in the end Basle, in Switzerland, was selected in its place. "*Die Welt*" was established by Herzl (at his own expense) as the official organ of the movement in order to be able to reply in print to the opposition of the Jewish press of almost every country. The idea of a Jewish Congress

publicly discussing Jewish affairs before the eyes of the whole world was revolting to the official Jewish communities of Western Europe, and they prepared what they considered a crushing blow. The *Berliner Tageblatt* and other important German papers published a statement signed by the five leading Rabbis of Germany that the efforts of the 'so-called' Zionists were "contrary to Messianic prophecy and that Judaism imposes on all Jews the duty of loyalty to the fatherland to which they belong." This powerful protest, however, and other protests availed nothing against the determination of Herzl and his small band of helpers. Zionist societies were formed everywhere, public sympathy was aroused, and the Jewish papers began to come round to Herzl's side. The enthusiastic promises of support which showered in on Herzl at this time from all corners of the earth encouraged him in the conviction that the Congress would be a success. The first Zionist Congress met at Basle on August 29th, 1897. Jews from almost every country sent representatives (the number of delegates was about 200) and for the first time since the Exile an assembly was convened which could claim with some show of justice to be considered a national assembly. The enthusiasm at the Congress was boundless. Perfect strangers embraced one another with tears of joy, and the convener of the Congress was the object of endless ovations. All those present realised the historic moment through which they were passing.\*

From the point of view of attracting the attention of the Jewish and non-Jewish world the Congresses were highly successful. The number of adherents (counted by the number who paid the *Shekel*, the minimum subscription to the organisation) grew tenfold in the three years between the first and the third Congresses. The non-Jewish press gave the Zionist idea great publicity, and some important English papers called for a European conference to consider the Jewish question. At this period the movement was very strong in England, and many of the most important Zionist institutions, including the Jewish Bank (The Jewish Colonial Trust Limited) and the Jewish National Fund, were established in London, which was also the venue of the Fourth Congress in 1900. The English Zionist Federation did yeoman service in furthering the political and financial activities of the movement. Thus

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\* There have been eleven Congresses in all, of which seven have been held in Basle. The Zionist programme, which is always referred to as the Basle programme, was settled at the first Congress. From the official report of the third Congress (Basle, 1899) we take the names of some of the leading Zionists in the principal countries in the early years of the movement. The Executive at Vienna consisted of Herzl, Kahn, Marmorek, Kokesch, Schnirer and Kremenetzky. The Vice-Presidents of the Congress were Dr. Gaster, Max Nordau and Mandelstamm. Chief among the Russian Zionists at that time were Mandelstamm, Temkin, Tschlenow, Ussischkin, Sokolow, Jacobson and Kohan Bernstein. York Steiner was chairman of the principal sub-committee of the Congress. Germany was represented on the Actions Committee by Wolffsohn, Bodenheimer, Rülfi; France by Dr. A. Marmorek; America by Prof. Gottheil and Rev. Stephen Wise. The two English members were Dr. M. Umanski and Sir Francis Montefiore. Other English Zionists who took a prominent part in this Congress were Bentwich, De Haas, Cowen, Greenberg and Weizmann.



there seemed every ground for believing that Zionism had at one stride achieved that which seemed of the utmost importance to Herzl, viz., become a political movement and a world problem like other European political movements and other great world problems, and had gained the interest of all Jewries. Until 1902 or 1903 the movement made progress in this direction. It was not long, however, before both these aims were seen to be far from realised, and a period of depression followed the excessive enthusiasm of the early years. This depression was greatly increased by the unexpected death of Herzl in 1904, from which date a new phase of the movement commences.

As we look back on the evolution of Zionism from this point onwards, a remarkable phenomenon is revealed. We see the instrument created by Herzl for the purpose of acting in a certain way slowly but surely turning away to act in quite a different manner. Like some Galatea beneath the hand of a Pygmalion, so the Zionist organisation, graven as it was out of the living marble of *Chibbath Zion*, stepped down from its pedestal and took a direction never anticipated by Herzl. In order to understand the reason for this very curious happening it is necessary to explain the two different conceptions of Zionism which have coexisted in the movement from the beginning. The raw material of Zionism which Herzl found ready to his hand was quite different from Herzl's own Zionism. His Zionism, like that of many Western Zionists, was the product of Antisemitism only. The way in which Herzl and the early Congresses formulated the Jewish problem is, in effect, the following:—"As the Jews are a problem—almost a nuisance—to the nations of Europe, let them be given guarantees for a State of their own." The problem is thus a purely political one which could, theoretically at any rate, be solved by an independent Jewish State in any country. The raw material of the movement, however, the Jews whose roots were still deep in the soil of Judaism, could not regard Zionism as the political problem of relieving the nations of the world from an element which they disliked. To these Jews Zionism meant, above all, the regaining of the possibility—lost for so many centuries—of living and breathing freely as Jews attached to the soil of Palestine, the land whence their genius had come and whither it wished to return. This outlook, which is sometimes called 'Spiritual' Zionism, has found its finest expression in the works of Ahad Ha'am. It is fundamentally opposed to Herzl's political Zionism. Ahad Ha'am and the *Choveve Zion* viewed the problem from the Jewish standpoint, Herzl and the 'political' Zionists regarded it from the standpoint of a citizen of the world, i.e., with the eyes of a cosmopolitan Jew or a cosmopolitan Gentile. If the efforts of Herzl had succeeded in convincing the non-Jewish world,



and if he had obtained the legal guarantees for which he strove, this phase of Zionist policy might have been justified as good tactics. In view of its failure, however, it was inevitable that it should give way to the other, the more strictly Jewish and Palestinian phase. The history of the movement shews in the clearest manner the gradual evolution of the one phase into the other.

4) Of the four lines of activity laid down by the Basle programme,\* viz., the colonisation of Palestine, the organisation of the Jewish people, the strengthening of the national feeling, and lastly, political and diplomatic efforts to enlist the sympathy and assistance of powerful nations; the Zionist movement in the Herzlian period and for a few years after, while the supporters of his views remained in control, attached most importance to the organisation and the political side. Herzl believed strongly in political guarantees and looked on colonisation without such guarantees, i.e., without a charter from the Powers, as undignified, harmful and practically useless. He set his heart upon the obtaining for the Jews of a charter recognising a Jewish autonomous community in Palestine, and to obtain this he made innumerable journeys and obtained interviews and even promises of support from European Kings and ministers. He had several audiences of the Sultan from 1897 onwards. In October, 1898, he had a memorable interview with Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany on the road to Jerusalem. In 1899 and 1902, he unfolded his scheme to the late Grand Duke of Baden, in 1900 to the King and Queen of Rumania, in 1902 and 1903 to Victor Emanuel II of Italy, to the Pope, and to Signor Tittoni, then Foreign Minister, in 1903 to Witte and von Plehve in St. Petersburg, and to Mr. Chamberlain in London. Unfortunately, without the help of the rich Jews, on which he had counted but which he could not gain, all these diplomatic successes yielded nothing concrete, nothing which materially advanced the realisation of the Zionist programme. Finding that Palestine was unobtainable by these political methods, Herzl was prepared to accept as a stepping stone autonomy in some other territory, preferably territory bordering on Palestine. This compromise was to be expected in one to whom the Jewish problem was merely political. In October, 1902, the Executive of the Zionist Organisation negotiated with the British Government for part of the Sinai peninsula to be granted to the Jews with powers of self government. These negotiations broke down owing to the requirements of the Egyptian government, and the Colonial Office made an offer to the Zionists of a piece of land in East Africa. The terms of this historical offer are

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\* The first article of the Basle programme is as follows: "Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by legal guarantees." See pamphlet, "Zionism and Jewish Problem," pp. 10 and 11.

contained in a letter of the 14th August, 1903, to Mr. L. J. Greenberg in regard "to the form of an agreement which Dr. Herzl proposes should be entered into between his Majesty's Government and the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd., for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in East Africa." The letter states that the Marquis of Lansdowne "has studied the question with the interest which his Majesty's Government must always take in any well-considered scheme for the amelioration of the position of the Jewish race . . . If a site can be found which the Trust and his Majesty's Commissioner consider suitable, and which commends itself to his Government, Lord Lansdowne will be prepared to entertain favourably proposals for the establishment of a Jewish colony or settlement on conditions which will enable the members to observe their national customs . . . the scheme comprising as its main features the grant of a considerable area of land, the appointment of a Jewish official as the chief of the local administration, and permission to the colony to have a free hand in regard to municipal legislation as to the management of religious and purely domestic matters, such local autonomy being conditional upon the right of his Majesty's Government to exercise general control."\*

It was in the discussion of this offer that the difference between the two views of Zionism became most strongly marked. The Eastern Zionists who had all along accused Herzl of being a "Judenstaatler," that is, more concerned with autonomy than with Palestine, saw treachery in the very fact of entertaining such a proposal. There were stormy scenes at the sixth Congress in 1903, which dealt with the project. It threatened to split the movement, and did in fact create a schism, for in 1905, after the seventh Congress had received the report of the investigating commission that the territory was unsuitable, Israel Zangwill and a number of followers seceded and formed the Jewish Territorial Organisation, which aims at the obtaining of territory in any part of the world. By this secession the Zionist movement shed the majority of the adherents to the purely political view and the ascendancy of the other view became inevitable. The opposition to Herzl, which was so prominent at the sixth Congress, but which had been in existence from the very beginning, came from those Zionists who had been *Choveve Zion* before Herzl had become a Zionist, and who laid stress on the other half of the Basle programme, viz., practical colonisation work in Palestine and the deepening of the national feeling of the Jews. Their opposition was due also to their disbelief in the value of political and diplomatic endeavours. They preferred slow infiltration into Palestine

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\* Quoted in "Zionism," by Prof. Gottheil (Philadelphia, 1914), to which book readers are referred for a fuller treatment of the subject of this pamphlet.



rather than the waiting policy advocated by Herzl pending the obtaining of guarantees. After the death of Herzl had robbed the politicals of his commanding personality and influence, and after the definite victory of the nothing-but-Palestine party at the eighth Congress (1907), these Zionists, who became known as practical as opposed to political Zionists, grew more and more powerful. But they were not yet strong enough to combat the tradition left by Herzl, so that for a few more years the politicals remained in control of the movement. After the revolution in Turkey in 1908, it became clear to all that the "charter" idea was no longer tenable, and the political work of the movement began to centre in making it clear to Turkey that it was to her advantage to welcome Jewish immigration and enterprise in Palestine. The ninth and subsequent congresses have emphasised this view. Since the tenth Congress (1911) the 'practical' Zionists have been in control of the movement. The progress of the colonies and the remarkable renaissance of Jewish life in Palestine have helped to restore harmony between the two opposing parties. The present leaders, have, until the war, carried out the diplomatic portion of the programme in the only feasible manner, confining their efforts to the creation of a good understanding with Turkey. The changes consequent on the war have, however, made necessary a revival of political activity in order to make clear the aims and wishes of the Zionist organisation to all the Powers who may be interested in the future of Palestine.

The perfecting of the Zionist organisation was the other branch to which Herzl's endeavours were chiefly directed. Though they were attended with more success than his diplomatic activity there has been here also an inevitable change of policy. As we have seen, the number of adherents increased tenfold in the first few years, stimulated by the apparent imminence of a successful issue. The Vienna executive until 1903 or 1904 firmly believed in the possibility of achieving the Zionist object in the immediate future. Their speeches and letters confirmed this view and made the masses expectant and eager. Herzl believed also that the vast majority of the 12 or 13 million Jews of the world would rally round him and thus create a force of great political power. When months and years passed without any such realisation there was a reaction, and the years immediately following Herzl's death showed a falling off in the number of adherents. Since 1911, when the 'practicals' obtained control, a new policy has been noticeable, viz., to put Palestine in the forefront and to interest Jews in Palestine whether they became members of the organisation or not. This apparent disregard of direct propaganda has really had better results than 'direct' speech-making and attempting to gain adherents in order to become



a great political power. The movement has begun to recover under the influence of the visible progress of Jewish colonisation in Palestine. The number of Shkelpayers (*i.e.*, professed adherents of the movement) is still quite small (about 200,000) in comparison with the three or four million Jewish families of the world, but the influence of the movement on Jewish life and thought is immeasurable. The Zionist element is the most actively Jewish in almost every Jewish community and acts as a powerful bulwark against the tendency to drift and assimilation. This increasing and quietly powerful influence of Zionism among the Jewries of the world is due in large measure to the emphasis which has been laid in the last few years on the other two aims of the Basle programme—colonisation and the strengthening of the Jewish national consciousness.

A further example of the curious phenomenon previously referred to, whereby an instrument created by Herzl for one object has achieved quite another, is to be found in the "Jewish" Bank. As an auxiliary to his political endeavours Herzl had established in 1901 a Jewish Bank, the Jewish Colonial Trust, Limited (nominal capital £2,000,000) with the object of securing concessions in Palestine and floating a loan for Turkey. The rich Jews, however, boycotted the bank. But while the rich Jews kept strictly aloof from a project which seemed to them financially weak, the poor Jews—the splendid raw material, which had been overlooked—responded in an extraordinary manner. Over 130,000 Jews became shareholders, and yet the total amount taken up was only £240,000. In some Russian villages eight or nine Jews, with an enthusiasm and eagerness which are most pathetic, clubbed together to buy a £1 share. The failure to obtain at least £2,000,000 was a great disappointment to Herzl, whose mind was always centred on the purchase from the Sultan of the Crown lands in Palestine. The Bank, however, became under the influence of the 'practicals' of the greatest utility in furthering colonisation and credit in Palestine, especially through its offshoot the Anglo-Palestine Company, Limited.

All the recent land purchase in Palestine has been under the direct supervision of the Palestine bureau at Jaffa, a branch of the Zionist organisation which has proved itself highly efficient under the care of Dr. Ruppin. Agricultural schools and an Experimental Station have been established either directly by the organisation or stimulated by Zionists; and training has begun in real earnest for the task of creating a competent Jewish agricultural population. Land purchase and development by the Jewish National Fund (established 1901 and now amounting to over £200,000 contributed by small amounts from all over the world) and by the Palestine Land Development Company, Ltd., are on the increase in parts of

Palestine too difficult for private undertaking to work successfully. The National Fund has made possible the splendid new quarter of Jaffa known as Tel Aviv. This is a healthy and prosperous suburb where the houses are equipped with every comfort and hygienic requirement, forming a striking contrast to the miserable dwellings which they have to some extent replaced. There is also an International Health Bureau to combat malaria and trachoma, which are rife among the poorer population. The number of colonies is now over forty with a total population of about 15,000. But it is in the sphere of education that some of the most striking results have been achieved. Here again the direction was given outside the Zionist organisation. Hebrew has become, under the influence first of the Choveve Zion and later of the Zionist movement, a living national tongue used from the Kindergarten to the Training College. The numerous elementary schools, the two 'gymnasias' at Tel Aviv and at Jerusalem, the training colleges for men and for women, the thriving periodical publications ranging from an ordinary daily paper to a quarterly review of agriculture, the dramatic societies, athletic clubs and numerous other institutions in which Hebrew is the only medium, bear sufficient witness to the extraordinary success of the Hebrew revival in Palestine. The coping stone will be a Hebrew University at Jerusalem, the preliminary work for which had already, before the outbreak of the war, commenced in accordance with the resolution of the eleventh Congress (Vienna, 1913). The Hebrew revival is so recent that it is not yet widely known, but it is perhaps the most inspiring feature of Zionist progress in Palestine.

In 1904, the death of Herzl robbed the movement of the great genius who had known how to gather together the best elements of Jewry into an organisation. There was no one of his calibre to take his place and it was thought that Zionism had suffered a blow from which it would never recover. Had Zionism been only a political movement and the creation of one man it would probably not have survived, but Zionism was older than Herzl. As we have seen, the National Jewish consciousness of Eastern Jewry which he had hit upon almost by accident, was strong, much stronger than even he knew, and it successfully carried the movement over the anxious transition period. After Herzl, first Wolffsohn then a Committee of three, and finally a Committee of six took over the executive side of the movement. Since 1913, the Executive consists of Professor Otto Warburg (Chairman), Dr. E. W. Tschlenow (Vice-Chairman), Dr. Victor Jacobson, Dr. Arthur Hantke, Dr. Sehmarya Levin, and Mr. Nahum Sokolow. The central office which was in Vienna during Herzl's life was, in 1911, moved to Berlin. Since the War, the bureau has removed to Copenhagen, on neutral territory.



There has been a great strengthening of the movement among the large Jewish population of America, which may influence the direction the movement will take after the war. Much, obviously, depends on the outcome of the great war now being waged, but the continuation of Jewish effort in Palestine is in a sense independent of the result. The first steps have been taken along the road that leads to a revival of Jewry in Palestine, and though many things may hinder, nothing can now stop its progress.

Zionism is still far from its goal, but its undeniable progress towards that goal has been accompanied by a wonderful revival of Jewish interest among Jews. Zionism has not solved, because it cannot solve, the problem of the oppressed Jews of Eastern Europe by finding for them a secure home. The Jews of Russia, Galicia and Rumania are too numerous; the very idea that they can be transferred quickly into a new country ready to receive them is fantastic. Zionism since the accession of the 'practicals' aims at Ahad Ha'am's ideal of establishing a centre or "nidus" in Palestine which shall be a home for the Jewish spirit rather than a place of refuge for crowds of wander-weary individual Jews. While that is being achieved in Palestine the Jews in the Diaspora must be prepared by education to see the urgency of such a "nidus." The Eastern Jews are forced by economic pressure to feel that they are strangers, the Western Jews by other forms of Antisemitism. But were these factors both absent, the Jewish need of a centre in Palestine would be just as urgent, even more urgent from the Nationalist point of view. The loss of the Jewish outlook, whether it be due to ill treatment or perfect equality, is an evil to the Jew and a loss to the world, and the Jews are doing their duty to the world by preserving their Jewish spirit in the only way by which it can be preserved—by giving it a healthy body.

Zionism has thus given to many Jews who were in danger of losing it, an 'ideal' for which to live. There is no longer need for Western Jews to choose between two equally unpleasant alternatives, the identifying themselves completely with the life of the country in which they live, or the shutting themselves out of the blessings of the modern world by an artificially created Ghetto. Zionism has shown that the Jew may drink freely of the springs of modern culture and yet remain Jewish. This feeling has given Jewish intellectuals a sense of freedom and a quiet confidence and optimism which they formerly lacked, and it has enabled them to devote their energies to various aspects of Jewish life without any feeling of shame. In every country and in every form of Jewish communal life, in education as in local politics, the Zionist influence is unmistakable. It is only a matter of time for the great Jewish organisations which have hitherto been remarkable



for their antinationalist prejudices to come round to the Zionist view, because it is the only really Jewish view. Zionism has also revealed to the Western Jews, as Herzl himself has shown, that their boasted superiority over the Eastern Jews whom they patronised condescendingly, has no foundation. They are beginning to recognise, for instance, that the Russian and Austrian Jews are not poor relatives to be hidden away, but rather wealthy brethren (rich in the spirit of loyalty to Judaism) who can help them very considerably. Under the influence of Zionism the West has realised its dependence on the East for all things Jewish. The striking manner in which Russian Jews—suffering untold agonies in Russia—yet refused even to consider any other land than Palestine as worth striving for, made Western Jews look on their Eastern brethren with a new respect.

The history of the Zionist movement is a record of the slow but inevitable yielding of Western political and non-Jewish views to the essentially Jewish national outlook which is now assuming control. The manner in which each failure of the early Zionist endeavours has turned under the irresistible pressure of a people's sentiment and will into a success never anticipated by the former leaders is the best proof that Zionism is the expression of that sentiment and the will to live. The older view is by no means dead, but the progress of Jewish activity in Palestine is establishing a synthesis between the opposing views.

Zionism by its actual achievements in Palestine has in addition to this inner harmony realised a twofold object. It has turned the eyes of all the Jewries of the world towards Palestine in a way which centuries of mere speechmaking and diplomacy could never have accomplished. It has at the same time showed the Gentile world the first instalment of what Jews can do in the way of transforming a desert into a flourishing country. Whatever changes the war may produce, the programme of Zionism remains the same. The last word in the matter does not rest with the world, but with the Jews themselves. It is to the Jews of all countries that Zionism speaks, pointing on the one side to the various lands of the earth in which the vast majority of their brethren are living more or less contentedly, more or less nobly, but without any real independence and in a state of spiritual malaise, and on the other to a little country in Asia Minor with which our people's history is inestimably bound up, and in which alone it can attain a future worthy of its wonderful past. And it says, "See, I have set before you this day life and good, and death and evil. Therefore, choose you life."



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